

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 MC-02 AID-20 IGA-02 OMB-01 TRSE-00

COME-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 IO-14 AF-10

DRC-01 /151 W

----- 056705

R 271515Z SEP 74

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0630

INFO USMISSION USUN

USMISSION NATO

CINCLANT

DIA

USCINCEUR

CINCUSAREUR

CINCUSNAVEUR

CINCUSAFE LINDSEY/INCF

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 4170

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MASS PO

SUBJ: LIFTING ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST PORTUGAL

SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR STRONGLY RECOMMENDS THAT ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST PORTUGAL BE LIFTED IMMEDIATELY ONGROUNDS THAT PORTUGAL IS NOW GRANTING SELF-DETERMINATION TO ITS COLONIES AND CONTINUATION OF EMBARGO IS CAUSING SUBSTANTIAL HARM TO US INTERESTS. END SUMMARY.

1. I SUGGEST THAT TIME HAS COME FOR USG TO END OUR ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST PORTUGAL. THE REGIME THAT TOOK POWER ON APRIL 25 CLEARLY STATED THAT IT WOULD FOLLOW A POLICY OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN PORTUGAL'S COLONIES, THE POLICY LONG RECOMMENDED BY THE US. SINCE ANNOUNCING THAT POLICY, PORTUGAL HAS TAKEN THE FOLLOWING STEPS IN  
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ITS EXECUTION:

--- GUINEA-BISSAU'S FULL INDEPENDENCE WAS GRANTED ON SEPT 10.  
--- MOZAMBIQUE UNDER THE GOP-FRELIMO LUSAKA PROTOCOL  
WILL BE GRANTED FULL INDEPENDENCE IN JUNE 1975.  
--- THE GOP HAS ANNOUNCED A TIMETABLE FOR ANGOLA  
WHICH INCLUDES ELECTIONS FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY  
IN TWO YEARS. IN MEANTIME PORTUGAL HAS OFFERED  
LIBERATION MOVEMENTS POSITIONS IN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT,  
AND ACKNOWLEDGED ANGOLA'S RIGHT TO FULL INDEPENDENCE.  
MAIN OBSTACLE TO SPEEDIER TRANSITION TO FULL INDEPENDENCE  
IN ANGOLA IS WEAKNESS AND DISUNITY OF THE LIBERATION  
MOVEMENTS, A FACT ACKNOWLEDGED BY AFRICANS SUPPORTING  
ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE.  
--- PORTUGAL DISAVOWED AND BROUGHT TO AN END THE  
FREE MOZAMBIQUE MOVEMENT IN ITS ABORTIVE ATTEMPT TO  
UPSET THE LUSAKA PROTOCOL.  
---THERE SEEMS TO BE AGREEMENT THROUGHOUT BLACK  
AFRICA, WITH ONLY A FEW EXCEPTIONS, THAT PORTUGUESE ARE  
SINCERE IN THEIR NEW DECOLONIZATION POLICY. MARIO  
SOARES' UNUSUALLY WARM RECEPTION AT THE UN SHOULD BE  
STRONG EVIDENCE THAT PORTUGAL'S COLONIALIST IMAGE HAS  
BEEN TURNED AROUND.

2. CONSEQUENTLY, THE POSSIBILITY HAS VIRTUALLY DIS-  
APPEARED THAT US-SUPPLIED ARMS WOULD BE USED BY PORTUGAL  
AGAINST AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. WE SAY "VIRTUALLY"  
BECAUSE THE POSSIBILITY, THOUGH UNLIKELY, CANNOT BE  
ENTIRELY RULED OUT THAT DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL MIGHT  
RESULT IN INSTALLATION OF A RIGHTIST MILITARY REGIME DE-  
TERMINED TO HANG ON IN ANGOLA AGAINST A (POSSIBLY EVEN  
MORE UNLIKELY) UNITED LIBERATION MOVEMENT. WE CONSIDER  
THIS TO BE A RATHER WEAK JUSTIFICATION FOR CONTINUING THE  
ARMS EMBARGO BECAUSE OF (A) ITS UNLIKELIHOOD, (B) THE  
PROBABILITY THAT THE NOW THOROUGHLY WAR-EARY PORTUGUESE  
TROOPS WOULD REFUSE TO FOLLOW ORDERS TO FIGHT AGAINST  
AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS (ON SEPT 25 COPCON HEAD  
BRIGADIER CARVALHO CONFIRMED THAT AWARENESS OF THIS  
TROOP ATTITUDE WAS WHAT CONVINCED SPINOLA TO ABANDON  
INSISTENCE ON REFERENDUM IN MOZAMBIQUE).

3. SINCE THE REASON FOR MAINTAINING THE ARMS EMBARGO  
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HAS VIRTUALLY DISAPPEARED, ITS CONTINUATION DOES NOT  
SERVE ITS ORIGINAL PURPOSE. HOWEVER, IT CONSTITUTES  
A CONTINUED IRRITANT TO THE PORTUGUESE, IMPLYING US  
DOUBT OF THE SINCERITY OF THEIR DECOLONIZATION EFFORTS.  
IT HAMPERS THE US IN COMPETING FOR PORTUGUESE MILITARY  
CONTRACTS AGAINST THE ALREADY WELL-ESTABLISHED FRENCH  
(WHO HAVE JUST SOLD AN ADDITIONAL 88 ALOUETTE HELICOPTERS  
TO THE PORTUGUESE AIR FORCE) AND OTHERS (E.G. WE HAVE

LEARNED THAT CANADA IS ABOUT TO LIFT ITS ARMS EMBARGO).  
AND, POSSIBLE MOST IMPORTANT, IT SERIOUSLY INHIBITS  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF US RELATIONSHIPS WITH PORTUGUESE  
MILITARY OFFICERS AND OF ORIENTING PORTUGUESE MILITARY  
PERSONNEL, DOCTRINE, AND EQUIPMENT TOWARD THE US--AND  
THIS AT A TIME WHEN THE PORTUGUESE MILITARY HAS  
BECOME THE DECISIVE POLITICAL FACTOR IN PORTUGAL AND IS  
LIKELY TO REMAIN SO FOR SOME TIME TO COME.

4. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT WHAT THE PORTUGUESE ARE NOW  
INTERESTED IN ARE NOT ITEMS FOR USE IN SUPPRESSING  
AFRICANS BUT THE WHEREWITHAL TO BECOME A SELF-RESPECTING  
MODERN EUROPEAN MILITARY FORCE CAPABLE OF FULFILLING  
ITS NATO RESPONSIBILITIES WITH PRIDE AND DIGNITY.  
THEORETICALLY, THE US ARMS EMBARGO HAS NEVER BEEN  
APPLICABLE TO ITEMS FOR EXCLUSIVE NATO-AREA USE. IN  
PRACTICE, HOWEVER, THE EMBARGO HAS PLACED SEVERE  
RESTRICTIONS ON MAAG/PORTUGAL IN ORDER NOT TO WHET THE  
PORTUGUESE MILITARY APPETITE, OR STIMULATE THEM TO  
SEEK ITEMS WHICH WOULD BE EXTREMELY USEFUL TO THEM IN  
AFRICA, THUS TEMPTING THEM TO DIVERT ITEMS TO AFRICA  
OR PROVIDING MATERIAL FOR CRITICS TO FEED ON.

5. I DO NOT PROPOSE ANY FORMAL PUBLIC ABROGATION OF  
THE EMBARGO. RATHER, I PROPOSE THAT I BE AUTHORIZED  
TO INFORM THE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ARMED FORCES,  
GENERAL COSTA GOMES, THAT PORTUGAL'S DECOLONIZATION  
EFFORTS TO DATE HAVE CONVINCED THE USG THAT PORTUGAL NO  
LONGER INTENDS TO USE ARMS TO SUPPRESS THE RIGHT OF  
AFRICANS IN PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES TO SELF-DETERMINATION  
AND INDEPENDENCE: ON THAT UNDERSTANDING, THE USG HAS  
NOW DECIDED TO REMOVE ALL RESTRICTIONS THAT PREVIOUSLY  
EXISTED WITH RESPECT TO PORTUGUESE ACCESS TO US MILITARY  
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EQUIPMENT, INFORMATION, OR TRAINING AND WILL NO LONGER  
INSIST ON NATO-AREA-USE CERTIFICATION, CONFIDENT THAT  
ANY MILITARY EQUIPMENT, INFORMATION OR TRAINING OBTAINED  
BY PORTUGAL FROM THE US WILL IN FACT BE DESIGNED FOR NATO-  
AREA-USE OR, IF USED IN AFRICA, WILL BE USED TO HASTEN  
RATHER THAN IMPEDE THE DECOLONIZATION PROCESS.  
SCOTT

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** MASS, PO  
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**Type:** TE  
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